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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR CO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S LUNCHEON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO-ELEMENTS OF CURRENT COLOMBIAN FOREIGN POLICY

REF: BOGOTA 3070

1. THERE FOLLOW SOME OBSERVATIONS ON COLOMBIAN FOREIGN POLICIES WHICH THE SECRETARY MAY FIND USEFUL IN HIS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO

2. BILATERAL RELATIONS. THERE HAS, IN RECENT MONTHS, BEEN A SIGNIFICANT

CHANGE IN THE COLOMBIAN-U.S. RELATIONSHIP. WHILE THAT RELATIONSHIP REMAINS BASICALLY CORDIAL, THERE HAS, SINCE THE INSTALLATION OF THE LOPEZ ADMINISTRATION, BEEN A MOVE AWAY FROM THE CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH

THE U.S. THAT WAS A CHARACTERISTIC OF PREDECESSOR ADMINISTRATIONS. THAT MOVEMENT, WHICH IS BY NO MEANS IRREVERSIBLE, STEMS FROM SEVERAL FACTORS. PRESIDENT LOPEZ, WHOTLIN HIS CAMPAIGN HAD PROMISED TO MOVE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE COUNTRY TO THE LEFT, HAS, TO DATE, BEEN ABLENQO EFFECT ONLY MINOR

CHANGES IN COLOMBIA'S BASICALLY CONSERVATIVE SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

FOREIGN POLICY SHIFTS, SUCH AS THE RECOGNITION OF CUBA AND A LESSER IDENTIFICATION WITH U.S. POLICIES, PROBABLY REPRESENT A MORE ATTRACTIVE METHOD OF REDEEMING SUCH CAMPAIGN PLEDGES THAN DOES A FRONTAL ASSAULT ON THE WELL ENTRENCHED INTERESTS THAT WOULD OPPOSE A FAR REACHING PROGRAM OF CHANGE ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT

3. A MORE FUNDAMENTAL REASON FOR THE GOC'S RE-EXAMINATION OF ITS U.S. RELATIONSHIP, HOWEVER, IS WHAT THE COLOMBIANS PERCEIVE AS U.S. INDIFFERENCE TO THEIR INTERESTS AS WELL AS THE LACK OF A U.S. QUID PRO QUO FOR GOC SUPPORT. THESE PERCEPTIONS ARE REFLECTED IN A NUMBER OF THE COLOMBIAN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS OUTLINED BELOW. 4. CUBA. THE QUITO CONFERENCE WAS LIEVANO'S FIRST MAJOR UNDER-TAKING AFTER BECOMING FOREIGN MINISTER. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CONFERENCE, LIEVANO WAS SUBJECT TO CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE MATTER. HE PUBLICLY PLACED A MAJOR PORTION OF THE BLAME ON THE U.S. WHICH, HE BELIEVES, HAD IT IN ITS POWER TO ALLOW A TWO THIRDS VOTE IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE CUBAN SANCTIONS. HE WAS CRITICAL OF THE SECRETARY'S ABSENCE FROM THE MEETING. LIEVANO ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY MADE REFERENCE TO THE "FICTION" OF ABSTENTION VOTES AT QUITO. ON A MORE OBJECTIVE PLANE, THE GOC FELT THAT THEY HAD ACCOMMODATED THE U.S. ON THE CUBAN ISSUE LONG AFTER THE SANCTIONS WERE APPROPRIATE OR USEFUL. DESPITE A DESIRE TO AVOID DAMAGE TO THE OAS AND TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THE GOC, PERCEIVING NO READINESS FOR CHANGE BY THE U.S., DECIDED AFTER QUITO TO IMPLEMENT ITS POLICY OF "IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM" BY RENEWAL OF CUBAN RELATIONS.

5. OAS. COLOMBIA STILL PLACES CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE ON A FUNCTIONING INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. (THE CHRONIC BUT NON-CRITICAL BOUNDARY DISPUTE WITH VENEZUELA AND A TRADITIONAL PREFERENCE FOR LEGALISTIC SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES CONTRIBUTE TO THIS PREFERENCE.) LIEVANO HAS PROPOSED A FORMULA, ESSENTIALLY COSMETIC, FOR ALLOWING THE NEXT OAS MINISTERIAL MEETING TO LIFT THE CUBAN SANCTIONS AND TO THUS BRING THE ORGANIZATION IN TO LINE WITH THE DE FACTO SITUATION REGARDING CUBA. COLOMBIA ADVOCATES A STRONGER EXECUTIVE ROLE FOR THE OAS, BUT IS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION BEING ABLE TO DEVELOP SUCH A CAPACITY. THEY SUPPORT THE COSTA RICAN/PANAMANIAN MOVES TO REPLACE GENERAL DEBATE CONFIDENTIAL.

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WITH "DIALOGUE" AT THE OPENING OF THE OASGA. THERE IS PROBABLY SOME READINESS ON THE PART OF THE GOC TO ADVANCE FORMER PRESIDENT PASTRANA AS A CANDIDATE FOR SECRETARY GENERAL, BUT ONLY IF THE EFFORTS AT CHARTER REFORM ARE SUCH AS TO GIVE THE OFFICE GREATER SCOPE THAN IT NOW HAS.

6. PANAMA CANAL. COLOMBIA, AS THE ONLY NATION ON THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT THAT USES THE CANAL FOR INTRA-COASTAL SHIPPING, HAS A

STRONG INTEREST IN THE CONTINUED ORDERLY OPERATIONS OF THE CANAL. THEY FEEL BOUND, HOWEVER, IN THE NAME OF REGIONAL UNITY, TO GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO PANAMAIAN ASPIRATIONS. THE GOC HAS MADE A NUMBER OF INQUIRIES CONCERNING THEIR ISTHMIAN TRANSIT RIGHTS AS SET FORTH IN THE THOMPSON-URRUTIA TREATY OF 1914. TO DATE THE U.S. RESPONSE HAS BEEN TO TELL THEM THAT WE WILL CONSULT THEM AT AN APPROPRIATE STATE OF THE U.S.-PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS. A U.S. MOVE TO CONSULT COLOMBIA ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE USEFUL BOTH IN THE CONTEXT OF CANAL ISSUES AND AS AN INDICATION OF CONCERN FOR COLOMBIAN INTERESTS.

7. QUITA SUENO. THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT HAS
RATIFIED THE TREATY WHEREBY THE U.S. RELINQUISHES CLAIM TO SEVERAL
SMALL CARIBBEAN ISLANDS. THE U.S. HAS, TO DATE, NOT MOVED TO
COMPLETE THE RATIFICATION PROCESS. THE DELAY IS COMING TO BE SEEN
IN COLOMBIA AS A MANIFESTATION OF U.S. INDIFFERENCE.
8. COFFEE AGREEMENT. COLOMBIA STILL DERIVES SOME 44 PERCENT OF ITS
FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS FROM COFFEE. THE GOC REGARDS A NEW
COFFEE AGREEMENT AS NECESSARY FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING. THE BELIEVE
THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE COSTLY TO THE US AND BELIEVE
THAT THE UBS. HOLDS THE KEY TO THE ACHEIVEMENT OF A NEW AGREEMENT.
THEY PERCIEVE OUR UNREADINESS TO MOVE ON THE MATTER AS YET ANOTHER
MANIFESTATION OF INDIFFERENCE TO COLOMBIAN CONCERNS.

9. ANDEAN PACT. COLOMBIA HAS BEEN A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE ANDEAN PACT FROM ITS BEGINNING. THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT CODE IS INCORPORATED IN COLOMBIAN LAW, THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT HAS EXERCISED SOME OF THE OPTIONS IN THE CODE TO RELAX ITS APPLICATION TO MINING, FINANCE, AND MARKETING. PRESIDENT LOPEZ AND VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT PEREZ SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION DURING THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL MEETING IN PANAMA EXPRESSING, IN VERY GENERAL TERMS, THEIR CONFIDENCE IN AND COMMITMENT TO ANDEAN INTEGRATION (BOGOTA 2960). WITH VENEZUELAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE PACT SINCE LAST YEAR, AND GROWING CONFIDENTIAL

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COLOMBIAN-VENEZUELAN COOPERATION, THE FOCUS OF THE PACT SEEMS TO BE SHIFTING AWAY FROM THE SOUTHERN MEMBERS TOWARD THE TWO ECONOMICALLY DOMINANT NORTHERN MEMBERS. COLOMBIAS ANDEAN TRADE IS INCREASING AND IN 1974, AT \$481 MILLION, WITH A \$38 MILLION SURPLUS. REPRESENTED 14.5 PERCENT OF ITS TOTAL TRADE.

10. TRADE ACT OF 1974. THE COLOMBIANS VIEW THE 1974 TRADE ACT AS ONE THAT NEITHER HARMS NOR BENEFITS THEM. THEY VIEW TITLE V, HOWEVER, AS AKIN TO THE HICKENLOOPER AMENDMENT, AND AS ANOTHER MEASURE TO MAKE U.S. ASSISTANCE CONDITIONAL. COLOMBIA'S OFFICIAL REACTION HAS BEEN RELATIVELY MODERATE WHILE NEVERTHELESS REFLECTION A POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT VENEZUELA'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE OPEC CLAUSE, SUPPORT THAT MINISTER LIEVANO MAY REPEAT IN WASHINGTON

11. IDB LOAN EXTENSION. THE FOREIGN OFFICE UNDER SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS HAS TOLD US THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER PLANS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF U.S. OPPOSITION TO COLOMBIA'S REQUEST FOR A ONE-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE REMAINING \$3.2 MILLION OF AN IDB LOAN FOR RURAL ROAD CONSTRUCTION. THE LOAN, ORIGINALLY FOR FOUR YEARS, HAS BEEN EXTENDED FOR ONE YEAR, AND A SECOND EXTENSION WOULD VIOLATE THE IDB PLICY OF LIMITING SUCH LOANS TO A FIVE YEAR MAXIMUM. EVEN IF THE U.S. HAS ALREADY VETOED THE EXTENSION IN THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, COLOMBIA WILL SEEK RECONSIDERATION. (BOGOTA 2993).

12. AS INDICATED IN THE FOREGOING, COLOMBIAN POLICIES ARE UNDER GOING A PROCESS OF CHANGE. COLOMBIA IS STILL ONE OF OUR CLOSEST ASSOCIATES IN THE HEMISPHERE. THE GOC, HOWEVER, IS RE-EXAMINING ITS POLICIES FROM A POINT OF VIEW OF SELF INTEREST. THEY BELIEVE THAT, DESPITE SIZEABLE CULTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES, THEIR INTERESTS OFTEN LIE WITH OTHER LDC'S SUCH AS THE GROUP OF SEVENTY SEVEN. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S., BY EVINCING A GREATER CONCERN ABOUT COLOMBIAN INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS, HAS THE POWER TO CHECK THE COLOMBIAN SHIFT AWAY FROM ITS CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH THE U.S. IN VIEW OF COLOMBIA'S STATUS AS ONE OF THE TWO FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACIES IN SOUTH AMERICA, IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS RECEPTIVITY WHILE IT REMAINS.

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